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PURCHASING THE LIBERTY

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SLAVE POPULATION.)



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BY the laws of Rome it was decreed in reference to their Slaves, that "PARTUS SEQUITUR VENTREM," or that the child should be free, if the mother were free; and the same law has generally prevailed, wherever Slavery has existed. Although such fact is very generally known, yet an extraordinary consequence, which naturally flows from it, where emancipation is contemplated by purchase, seems to have escaped attention; that to emancipate eventually a slave population, it is not necessary to emancipate a single male nor any of the females, excepting such as are or may become prolific, and that by the emancipation of these alone the whole population, both male and female, becomes free in the next generation.

To elucidate this proposition and thence draw a few abstract conclusions, is the author's principal object; and whoever in this discovers nothing, either new or important, may throw aside this work, as he would hiss a play condemned by the prologue.

The abolition of southern slavery can only be patriotically proposed or peaceably expected, by paying the slave owner the full value of his property; and hence one object of these strictures is to prove, that there are two ways of abolishing slavery, by fair purchase — by the one of which a complete abolition takes place immediately, but at a maximum expense; while by the other a complete abolition takes place remotely, but at a minimum expense.

The plan of purchasing the liberty of a slave population, in the first way, viz : by purchasing the liberty of both males and females, has lately been adopted by a great nation ; but the purchase was a forced and unfair one, though at an enormous expense of twenty millions sterling ; while, had much less money been judiciously expended and the second means selected, with a proper knowledge of the principles, which support it, an equal result would have followed, but in a way, that none could have charged injustice, and as the same plan of purchasing the liberty of the slave may be presented hereafter to Congress or be discussed by individual states, the principles on which that plan is founded, are submitted to the analysis of public criticism.

In order to elucidate our proposition, we would in the first place state, that such is the economy of nature, that there is an extraordinary difference between the two sexes in regard to the collective influence of each on population. Pharaoh displayed ignorance as well as ferocity, when, dreading the too great increase of the Israelites, he ordered the Hebrew midwives to slay the male infants of their nation. Had he on the contrary yearly sold to neighboring princes a few thousands of the Israelitish maidens, he would soon have rid himself of his fears, filled his exchequer, populated foreign countries and saved much of his character with posterity.

No country was ever more than temporally depopulated by the mere loss of male subjects. Bonaparte led to the wars and to death millions of France's bravest sons, yet a few years saw France as populous as ever. To heal such wounds of war, the splendid "*Hospices pour les femmes grosses*," as also those "*des enfans trouvés*" were the more liberally encouraged, and contrivances invented, that vice might not be discouraged by the fear of detection. The apparent tendency of these provisions being :

"To blur the grace and blush of modesty,
Take off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent love
And set a blister there !

But had the armies of the republic and empire been composed of young women, and had they as bravely fought and died, then alas! for "La Grande Nation!" she would have existed but in song.

Indeed, who does not admire that providential arrangement, which lets off a woman's ire with a scratch of her adversary's face? Had heaven made women sanguinary, their wars would have depopulated the world.

As an illustration on this same subject, more strange than necessary, we may observe, that Mr. Dieffenbach, professor of the University of Berlin, a gentleman, whose talents have elevated him to the highest standing among his countrymen, has in the "*Medizinischen Annalen von Kasper*," asserted a fact, which is extensively believed by Germans, that the levity and vivacity, which distinguished Frenchmen before the Revolution, have given place to singular exhibitions of German profundity and phlegm, throughout France, and that this phenomenon is attributable to the long occupation of the French territory by northern hordes, when war had thinned the due proportion of males. History also establishes, that the depopulating wars of martial Sparta frequently rendered necessary the passage of laws so degrading to the character of their females, as to make them the sport of Attic wit.

Wars, Colonisation and Emigration have seldom interfered perceptibly with the population of the parent country, because those, who die or leave their homes, are usually warlike or adventurous young men, whose loss becomes supplied by an augmentation of the list of illegitimates; a consequence, which reason would suggest as necessary, even did experience fail to prove it true, when the due proportion of males and females is thus disturbed.

Aware of the extraordinary difference between the two sexes in the above particulars, it has been asserted, that the Chinese have adopted the following highly illustrative method of check-

ing population in their large cities. They forbid the poorer classes from rearing more than one female child to each family and enact, that, excepting it, the rest should be dispatched at birth, while each family may rear any number of male children. Sterility seems to curse prominent instances of female abandonment; but in those countries, where polygamy prevails, a different result is plainly observable, as applicable to male incontinency.

Before proceeding further on this subject, the author would beg leave to observe, that he would be most unpleasantly misunderstood, if supposed to infer, that such strictures as the above apply to all classes and all communities however refined their morals or education. The above results could never happen in a highly moral community, where monogamy prevails. In such a community the decrease of the males retards population from the simple fact, that there are not husbands for all the maids; and the truth of this is said to be illustrated in many of our eastern towns. But among the slaves of the South no such state of morals exists, or can be expected. Were the greater proportion of the males there suddenly destroyed or colonized, yet population would not be retarded.

In this point of view, the removal or death of thousands of male slaves produces no sensible influence on a slave population, while not a single female slave dies prematurely without, as a general fact, diminishing the mass of slavery by the loss of her own and her issues' issue in multiplying accumulation throughout all subsequent time; or at least to that probably yet remote time, when by the too great accumulation of slaves their value shall become depreciated and their infant children (useless for immediate labor) shall be regarded as a burthen, and when the same misery, which everywhere sweeps off the progeny of the poor and thus, as asserted by Malthus, prevents population from increasing beyond the means of subsistence, shall arrest the present enormous rate of increase; and when on the too rapidly increasing offspring of our bondsmen, as on that of the Israe-

lites, sentence of death may attach at birth by the revived law of horrid necessity.

In order further to exemplify the wonderful effect, which may be produced on population by one female, the following extract from a southern paper is submitted.

„Died in ————— August 1835, Mrs. —————, widow of the late —————, aged 97 years. Early in the year 1759 at the age of 20, Mrs. ———, whose maiden name was ———, was married to Mr. ———, then of ———, with whom she lived seventy one years, in the exemplary and faithful exercise of all the virtues of an amiable discreet and affectionate wife and mother. The family of this lady has been remarkable for its numbers and health. At the death of her husband in 1830, their descendants were 271, of whom 251 were then living. At the time of her decease her descendants were 10 children (9 now living), 72 grand children, 245 great grand children, and 17 great great grand children, amounting in all to 344 descendants, of whom 138 are the offspring of her two first born children, who were born *twin sisters*.“

Had it been the unfortunate lot of this lady to have been born in slavery, then in her own life the same condition would have been transmitted to 344 of her descendants; but had some kind benefactor have early emancipated her, then would freedom in the same period and without the additional advance of the smallest sum have been extended to a similar number, — a number which again might augment incalculably with the extension of time — while this extraordinary difference of result is entirely independent of the fact of her husband being either a slave or freeman; and the above cited example is but one amongst the many, which are daily occurring, and similar results indeed would happen to many females, were their existences only as prolonged.

Mr. Blackstone in his commentaries states, that “at the first view it is astonishing to consider the number of lineal ancestors, which

every man has within no very great number of degrees, and so many different bloods is a man said to contain in his veins, as he has lineal ancestors. Of these he hath two in the first ascending degree, his own parents; he hath four in the second, the parents of his father and of his mother; he hath eight in the third, the parents of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers; and by the same rule of progression, he hath one hundred and twenty eight in the seventh; a thousand and twenty four in the tenth, and at the twentieth degree, or the distance of twenty generations, every man hath about a million of ancestors, as common arithmetic will demonstrate." And Mr. Christian in a note to this passage states, that the number of ancestors at forty degrees would be upwards of a million of millions.

The numbers of descendants to each individual on a general average are after a similar rate, excepting in this country, much greater on account of the rapid increase of population, the whole checked however by intermarriages; but if we only freed female slaves, and as they and their female descendants could not intermarry, such remarkable geometrical progression would constantly work these stupendous results unchecked by intermarriages, excepting on the part of the males, and their influence throughout this treatise is considered as nothing.

In order to cause population to remain stationary from generation to generation, it is apparent that each female on a general average must leave to succeed her at least two children, and that, where a population doubles from generation to generation, this order of succession must be extended to four—two to represent the past generation and the other two its doubling. Then in the latter case the emancipation of one female slave, in the next generation extends freedom to four descendants; but as the half of these (in the ordinary course of things, and as a basis of calculation) would be males, these four in the next generation again are represented by eight, and these afterwards by sixteen, and these again by sixty four and so on.

But the numbers which would actually lead the existence of freemen as time coursed along, would be as follows:

1st generation,	1 female	0 males,	Total	1
2d	2	2	"	4
3d	4	4	"	8
4th	8	8	"	16
5th	16	16	"	32
6th	32	32	"	64
7th	64	64	"	128
8th	128	128	"	256
9th	256	256	"	512
10th	512	512	"	1024

Total 2045

Making a total throughout ten generations of two thousand and forty five human beings, leading the lives of freemen from the original emancipation of one female, whereas, had that emancipation been of a male, its whole effect might have been obliterated the next generation by his intermarriage with a female slave and as much slavery engendered, as otherwise freedom. But did he on the contrary marry a free woman, the consequent results would have grown out of her freedom, and not his emancipation; the slave law being "*partus sequitur ventrem*."

It is evident however, that population could never increase long at the above rate. The world at length could not comfortably contain its inhabitants, even did they live in layers above each other, as in Egyptian Gardens, to the moon. Yet the proportion is true, and the principles, on which it is founded, may be applied "*mutatis mutandis*" to any rate of increase or decrease.

The foregoing observations then lead to this conclusion, that for the purpose of Uterine Emancipation, a slave population may be considered as only composed of the females; for example, if the whole population be three millions, it may be computed at half that number; or which amounts to the same, each female may be

considered as expressing $\frac{2}{3,000,000}$ th parts of the whole population, and each male as expressing — 0.

And hence we may say in general terms, that the emancipation of any number of females preserves emancipated throughout all successive generations twice the proportion of each successive generation, that the original number emancipated bore to the first population; for example, when we emancipate one half of the females of any given generation of slaves, we thereby emancipate but one quarter of the race, but that quarter will give birth to twice their number, or one half of the next generation, which half will be free by birth and will in their turn give equal results, and so on progressively from generation to generation.

The foregoing observations probably sufficiently illustrate one of the leading views connected with Uterine Emancipation, viz "That to emancipate eventually a slave population, it is not necessary to purchase the freedom of a single male," and in this view alone the consequent economy in funds might in some States, where the slave population is not too large to cope with, render a desired emancipation easy, which otherwise would not have been deemed possible.

But the exclusion of the males of a present race of slaves from the benefit of this species of emancipation as a waste of funds, by no means exhausts the subject, and the attention of the reader is further solicited.

To emancipate a slave population eventually, it is not necessary to emancipate all the females, because all females, who have past the age of parturition, may also be excluded as a waste of their value in funds, which when limited, can only be expended with fruitful results on the prolific; and where funds are thus limited, it is not prudent to expend them in the purchase of the freedom of very young females, as there is always a chance of death before puberty.

Between birth and the full developement of puberty, the human constitution passes through two climacterics fraught with fatal per-

ils, the change from infancy to adolescence, and from adolescence to puberty. The diseases peculiar to these changes combined with the infinite variety of other diseases and accidents, which at all times sweep off human existence during the tender period of non-age, probably prevent at the lowest calculation two thirds of all, who are born from passing the latter period, so that of the female slaves, now in existence and under the age of puberty, perhaps not more than one half would ever arrive at sufficient years to render their emancipation necessary.

The new statement of our proposition is then : That, to emancipate eventually a slave population, it is not necessary to emancipate a single male, nor any female, who has past the period of parturition, nor more than one half of those females, who have not arrived at that age, leaving a balance to be emancipated in order to produce the above result, of probably about one fourth of the whole population.

If the above views be correct, then the slave owner, who moved by a spirit of philanthropy emancipates his slaves by his will in the usual mode, throws away the chief riches of his bequest without eventual good in this view of Emancipation. To render such bequest indeed of full value to the cause of eventual freedom, it should be worded somewhat after this form : "I do hereby give and devise their freedom to all my female slaves, who are aged between the years of fifteen and twenty five, and I do hereby direct that all my other slaves be sold for the highest price, that can be obtained for the same, and that the proceeds, resulting from their sale, be appropriated to the purchase of the freedom of other female slaves, aged between the same years."

And this formula might also be exceedingly improved, as will appear from subsequent suggestions.

By such a bequest a slave estate is converted into a trust fund not only for the freedom and happiness of the present, but of future generations and becomes a noble and effective offset against

the crime of the first enslaver, who for lucre robbed his fellow mortal of his dearest attribute, visiting him with a curse, which dies not as the murderer's with its victim, but pollutes the very fount of existence, and is transmitted down its stream with horrors even more abiding than that of Him, who visits the iniquities of the ungodly only to the third and fourth generation.

The disquisitions, hitherto indulged in, have been of a very general character and, if true, should find confirmation in the tables of population, and, if it be possible to express exactly the smallest portion of a present slave population, that should be freed to secure freedom to all the subsequent-born, such discovery can only be satisfactorily made through the aid of such tables. That such discovery might be made, so as satisfactorily to solve the problem as above expressed, we fully believe; as also further, that we might calculate almost with mathematical certainty, what fewest in number should be annually emancipated, in order to preserve a gross amount of slavery the same, where the population increased after a known rate, as also thousands of questions, as to the exact number of years when slavery would end, accordingly as the number, so annually emancipated, should be enlarged.

The certainty of these solutions grows out of the jealous exactness, with which nature preserves entire the existence of a due proportion of females, causing all the great perils by flood and field to fall on the male race, whose loss is the more easily supplied; and in corroboration of these views, the following extract from the splendid work of Mr. Sadler on the law of population, may be advantageously cited :

"Now it has been already shown in a preceeding part of this work, that the state of marriage is amongst the adults of all civilized communities almost universal, and nevertheless the increase in none of them gives more than a very small annual accession of numbers. It follows therefore that, were any natural obstacle interposed against the almost universal prevalence of marriage, as now instituted, population must rapidly retrograde. Of all such

obstacles an inequality in the numbers of the sexes would be the most insurmountable ; would introduce inconceivable confusion and distress, and uproot the whole social system. Against so fatal a catastrophe nature has protected mankind by one of the most certain, yet inscrutable of her laws, which in providing for the universality, apparently dictates the duty of the marriage union."

"In proving therefore, that the whole system of population is under the unceasing direction of the deity, either through the operation of those secondary causes, resulting from his eternal prescience, or from his perpetually superintending providence, it is natural that this near equality in the numbers of the sexes at birth should have the first consideration. The fact is undoubted ; but when the elements forming the general result are considered, consisting as they do, of individual and unconnected families, in which the sexes are presented in all the possible disproportions, of which the numbers involved are susceptible, and sometimes in differences, literally speaking infinite, that these extreme contrarieties should at all times, and in every community be so balanced as to form the computation now under notice, is one of the most astonishing of those standing miracles of which constant experience could alone familiarize our minds and gain our belief."

"The proportion in question has exercised the calculating powers of some of the ablest mathematicians, from Dr. Arbuthnot down to La Place. It is no part of my object to show from them, what I conceive few will dispute, that it is absurd to attribute to the doctrine of chances, as it is called, such a result. I will therefore content myself with merely giving to the reader a calculation of Professor Sgravesande, as inserted by Dr. Nieuwentit, who, in observing upon the proportion of the sexes born in London only, and during a period not exceeding eighty two years, says that, "if we multiply a number of a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand millions first with a hundred thousand times a hundred millions, we must take ten millions of this prodigious number above seventy five thousand five hundred and eighty times, before we can come at the number or odds

against one, that what happened in London in the aforesaid eighty two years, would not have so happened, if the births of the males and females were the result of chance only." It is true, that these proportions are expressed in language only, and are so immense, that it is literally impossible, that the human mind by its utmost efforts can have the least conception of them; it is equally though perhaps not so obviously true of the entire subject before us. The principles of reproduction from the first dawn of creation to the consummation of all things are beyond the reach of the imaginations of human and probably of all finite beings."

"This nearly equal divison of the sexes, we observe further, has been found to exist in all communities, where the information necessary to establish the fact has been obtained; the supposition of certain travellers to the contrary, founded doubtless upon the most uncertain of all proofs, mere incidental and personal observation, is now known to be incorrect. That a similar equality has also existed in all ages, we cannot doubt. We have an incidental corroboration of this fact, more curious indeed, than necessary to the argument, handed down to us in a legend of early antiquity. It is said, that in a contest between the men and women at the naming of the city of Athens, whether it should be called after Neptune or Athena, the women carried it but by a majority of one vote only."

"The importance of this regulation of nature will be at least as apparent as its exactness, if we consider the effect it has necessarily to produce, which may be best understood, if we imagine for a moment the consequence of its absence. The physical constitution of human beings remaining the same as at present, it must be evident, that such a change in the laws of nature, as would disturb this equality of numbers, would either on the one hand produce that excess of males, which would inevitably introduce promiscuous concubinage or polyandryism and thereby not only destroy the moral feelings, but extinguish the existence of the species, or on the other occasion a similar superproportion of females, which would therefore sanction and dictate polygamy as a law of nature and necessity, the certain effect of which (the fecundity of females remaining the same) would be independently of its moral consequences the multiplication of man-

kind into unsustainable numbers. Even any sensible variation from the regular proportion, in which the sexes are born, or uncertainty in particular times and places in this respect, would threaten both these evils alternately and introduce inexpressible confusion into the community, of which such a state of things would be the ultimate destruction. In every point of view therefore any deviation from this fundamental law of nature would be fatal to the species."

If any constant diminution in the due proportion of females however slight would thus lead to the extinguishment of the human race, is it not apparent, that Uterine Emancipation, perseveringly applied from year to year however slightly, would inoculate the slave system with a canker, which would eventually terminate its existence, while each year, and in exact proportion to the administration of that poison would the death of the system and the resurrection of freedom be hurried! And it should further be borne in mind, that the above remarks of Mr. Sadler refer to any sensible diminution of females at the time of birth, though in the due course of nature a large proportion of such females always die before puberty; but how much more fatal would be an equal diminution of young grown up women or of virgins, who had just arrived at the age of fruitfulness, for whom the rest of society had in vain toiled, that they might continue the species afar from danger and unharmed of wars? Who, that has followed the virgin to the tomb, but has felt, that besides the bereavement of friends society has been disappointed in its hopes! The heart seems to hear her exclaim from her cold bier in the words of Antigone:

—"No nuptial song

Reserved for me, the wretched bride alone

Of Pluto now, and wedded to the tomb;

Ne'er shall I taste of Hymen's joys, or know

A mothers pleasure in her infant race;

But, friendless and forlorn, alive descend

Into the dreary mansions of the dead:"

Though the foregoing quotation from the work of Mr Sadler must have convinced the reader, that the general principles, on

which we have based our system, are correct, yet the desire of computing the practical power of those principles naturally leads to the important inquiries, at what age our female slaves usually commence child bearing? at what age they usually cease? what proportion the number of females between those ages bear to the whole slave population? what the average number of children, which each produces? and of these children how many of the females reach puberty and become themselves mothers?

All these questions are of the highest importance, in order to determine with precision the proximate, intermediate or remote results of Uterine Emancipation in the various degrees, of which it is susceptible of being applied, rendering the more or less remote abolishment of a mass of slavery a matter of calculation sure as the day of the death of the sentenced convict.

But the various statistics of population, to which the author has had access, have failed at least in affording him clear data, from which to calculate tables on these important questions, and as he has not seen elsewhere the female exalted as the quasi exclusive parent of generations, causing each mother to be regarded as the Eve of unborn generations, (and who singularly was so called from a Hebrew word, denoting the existence of all through her, while Adam merely took his name from the red clay, of which he was formed) he presumes, that hitherto a want of suspicion, of the importance of the investigation has occasioned a deficiency of statistics; and again, as the views developed in this little work are the results of holiday thoughts, playing truant to professional cares, a want of leisure as well as inaptitude may have obstructed research; but more than all this he would urge a disinclination to calculate such tables, because (in addition to the labour) if erroneously performed, (which on so abstruse a subject might easily happen) the mere faults of the tables might be considered as evidence of the falsity of the whole system.

Believing however, that the general principles of that system will bear investigation, when applied to the most liberal conjectures, which great authorities on the subject of population have ad

vanced as to the proportion, which the effete population of a community bears to the actually or possibly productive, the author has preferred to adhere to the mere examination of those principles and their application to such conjectures; assured that, if the public find those principles sound, and such application reasonable and probable in its results, the comparatively mechanical part or calculation of tables will be speedily furnished from other and surer sources.

In proportion to the longevity of our race the human mother is of all animals the least productive, and each is supposed on an average to give birth to about four offspring. It is further asserted in the work of Mr. Sadler, that "It is evident, that only a certain proportion of every general community is actually or even possibly prolific, and that such proportion Major Graunt, one of the earliest writers on the subject of population, fixed at one eighth part of the whole for the metropolis of England, and Dr. Price generally at one fourth," from which estimates Mr. Sadler does not appear to dissent.

But the "actually and possibly prolific" in the above supposition are composed of both males and females, whereas Uterine Emancipation, by abstracting from that fourth at least one half for the males, (who compose the greater proportion of the actually and possibly prolific of all communities) gives one eighth of a slave community as the proportion to be emancipated, to ensure freedom to all unborn generations.

If this momentous conclusion be but true, then may the philanthropist rejoice, that his means of usefulness are enlarged twice four fold, while the reflection, that a slave population is always but a fraction of the aggregate wealth of the community, in which it is situated, and that to emancipate such a population in the next generation, requires but the emancipation of one eighth of that population and that eighth composed exclusively of females, (among the least valuable of similar fractions, in the slave market) compels us with shame to publish, that it is not from

want of gold in our coffers, but of humanity in our hearts, if slavery long continue a stain on our escutcheon.

We must however bear in mind, that, although Dr. Price and Major Graunt in estimating the proportion, which the effete portion of a community bears to the actually and possibly prolific, so state as above their conclusion, yet they may not mean, (although their language seems so to imply) to include any value on account of those, who have not reached years of puberty; and not being able to refer to the work of Mr. Price, the ambiguity is here left undecided; but if we assume that they do not, yet as probably at least one half of the female race are usually aged under the average age of that period of female existence, when they become prolific, and as probably one half of those aged under such average age never become mothers from death and other causes, we find, that Uterine Emancipation still offers a saving of three fourths.

The foregoing remarks give probably a full index of all the economy, of which our system is susceptible in reference to one of its main though not most important branches, viz. the emancipation of a slave population in the first succeeding generation. Let us now contemplate that system, as applicable to a remote emancipation—and for such purpose let us suppose, that a community anxious to rid itself of a slave population by the honorable means of a fair purchase, and further anxious to avoid the dangerous chances of sudden change, selects the term of one hundred years as the period, when the emancipation is to be completed not fully, but in such a manner, that after the lapse of a century there shall not exist one slave mother to engender slavery on her posterity; and for greater simplicity in the first instance let us further suppose, that the deaths and births being yearly equal, such slave population continues the same in aggregate number from year to year; let us also further suppose the whole number of slaves to be six thousand one hundred and nineteen, being the number of slaves in the District of Columbia by the census of 1830.

Then, on the principles of the first signification of the foregoing estimate as to the proportion of the effete population of each community to the actually or possibly prolific, the emancipation yearly for one hundred years of the one eighth of the one hundredth part of the whole population in young marriageable girls, or eight marriageable girls yearly for one hundred years would emancipate the whole population as above; on the principles of the second signification the yearly number to be emancipated might have to be extended to sixteen.

Against this conclusion however in the latter of the supposed meanings of Dr. Price and Major Graunt it might be urged, that there would still remain a fraction of the females unfreed among those aged under the years of puberty.—But if we reflect, that, in estimating the amount of the “actually or possibly prolific” of a community, the above authorities must have included value in their statement on account of those, as to whose prolificness there existed doubt, as well as on account of those, who, having already borne many children, would not probably bear many more—And if we further consider, that under our system as above stated only the most favorable subjects would be selected, the supposed defalcation would probably be more than compensated by the influence of such additional and overbalancing ingredient.

But unfortunately, our slave population does not remain the same from year to year, but increases with a melancholy rapidity, and such increase would have to be provided against by intermediately emancipating one eighth of the rate of increase on similar principles.

The system of Uterine Emancipation, where a remote emancipation is contemplated, has also suggested another remarkable economy in the employment of those funds, by which the emancipation is to be effected. Such female slaves as by reason of physical or intellectual defects are of the least value in the slave market, provided only their procreative power be unimpaired, are the most valuable under our system, which contemplates number and not quality: she, that is deaf or blind or imbe-

cile, whose existence is almost a burthen to her owner, and who would almost be parted with as a gift, is to the Uterine Emancipationist infinitely more valuable than the stoutest male, and equally precious as the female, whose surpassing qualities of body and of mind curse her with a value, that bankrupts charity.

With but few observations the author must now conclude this little work, which he hopes may have proved as entertaining to his reader, as he prays, it may prove beneficial to his species.

Among the various and serious evils of slavery one stands sadly preeminent, that however humanity may favor emancipation, yet policy dreads the sudden irruption into society of masses of ancient bondsmen, whom years of servitude have unfitted to exercise the rights of freedom, and a due sympathy with our fellow citizens of the South should induce us to shield rather than expose them to such a calamity.

As a remedy against such an evil, Uterine Emancipation proffers two advantages. Firstly, that its operation may be rendered gradual and remote on principles already explained; and Secondly, that it may be made an adjunct to another and important system, viz. Uterine Colonization:—on the same principles above detailed the colonization or exportation to the friendly shores of some foreign power, which should consent to receive them, of similar proportions of females would in the next generation or more remotely, as we might desire, cause the disappearance of the Ethiopian race from our country; and away in the land of their forefathers, or elsewhere afar from the unfriendly clime, whose dark clouds now lower on their birth, their sable generations might rejoice in their separate and free existence.

The most natural objection against the efficacy of the operation of the principles attempted to be illustrated in this work is, that the rapid rate of the increase of our slave population would neutralize all intermediate attempts to reduce those principles to effective exercise; but let it be remembered, that such rate of increase can only be continued during the extraordinary wants

of this yet infant country, and that in some of our old settlements that rate has already greatly diminished, and must at length in all; while humanity may render the operation of our principles as eternal as their source, the human heart. Indeed at the same moment, that these principles commence a practical operation, shall the Car of the Hour be started which shall eventually usher in Universal Freedom : although meanwhile

“We wait,
Enduring thus, the retributive hour,
Which, since we spake, is even nearer now.”

To eternal sympathy, is dedicated this little work ; may its principles unfetter but one chain and all, it seeks of triumph, is achieved.

THE END.

